2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Native Authority, to the Native Authority, and eventually to the District Commissioner if the case is one which he will countenance. In practice, most cases reach the chief and go no further. Most people accept his decision. Thus the chief has important judicial functions.

The Chief as his People's Representative

In special situations where the welfare of the chiefdom as a whole has been endangered by an infringement of the mores, the chief may take action. For example, a chief prosecutes a village headman who allows a woman in his village to bear her first child before she has been through the *litiwo* ceremony. Every woman who becomes pregnant for the first time must undergo this ceremony, during which she is instructed in child welfare and child care. If she bears a child without undergoing the ceremony, she is said to have 'spoilt the country' (*ajalwice cilambo*), in the sense that she has besmirched its reputation.[1]

Chiefs usually call in magicians 'to smell out' those responsible for keeping back the rain.[2] When the rains fail as they did in 1948–9, their failure is held to be due to the magic of some evilly disposed person. It then becomes the chief's duty to call in a magician to indicate who this person is. The fees for this duty are paid by the chief himself on behalf of his people.

The chief also acts as a representative of his people when they are affected as a whole. For example, Nyambi called in a magician after man-eating lions had taken some of his subjects. This magician called for the hearth-stones and domestic utensils from all the villages in the area, and built them up into a pyramid over which he made some anti-lion medicine. This was to clear the whole chiefdom of man-eating lions.

Nowadays, the chief's representation of his people is seen most clearly in his position in the Administrative framework.[3] The chief represents the Administration to his people since they approach it through him. At the same time the Administration clearly treats him as the representative of his people and consults

[1] I was told in Mponda's area that the women undergo this ceremony *after* the birth of the child, but that it is still obligatory.

[2] *Kuiawa ula*—lit. 'to tie or bind the rain', in the sense of to make it a prisoner.

[3] I have dealt with this aspect more fully in 'The Political Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland',

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contents. Here once again the women, though they may have no boys in the initiation ceremony, are called 'the mothers'. The ritual co-operation of the mothers in the initiation ceremonies is paralleled by that of mothers and sons in political affairs: here sons are in charge of the villages, while their mothers and sisters form the nucleus of the localized kinship group, which in turn is the core of the village.

The ritual importance of the mother is nowhere more clearly seen than in the curse. The Yao believe that a mother may curse her child if he or she is disobedient or otherwise beyond control. Not many mothers do curse their children; the threat to curse seems to be more often used. Informants have told me of some mothers who have cursed their children, and the procedure and the wording of the curse have always been very similar. It is usually not applied to young children who could be punished by other means, but to adults and particularly adolescents. Usually the mother lifts her breast and points the nipple upwards saying, 'If you have never sucked from this breast nothing dreadful will happen to you.' The consequences of this are greatly feared. Where I have been told of curses, each time the child has either died suddenly shortly after the curse, or at least it has gone mad. The curse is vaguely supposed to operate through the ancestor spirits, but I could get no clear statement on how this happens.[1] Whatever the cause, however, the symbolic action of lifting the breast and the dire effects which are supposed to follow from this, indicate the importance of the mother in the lineage.

The Yao attach this sentiment, in general, not only to the mother, but also to all senior matrilineal female relatives. In general speech all female members of the matrilineage in ascending generations are 'mothers', and all members in the descending generations are 'children'. This fundamental relation of mother and child extends throughout the lineage. The Yao term *acinangolo*, used for the senior female members of the matrilineage, embodies this idea of 'the mothers'. More specifically, as far as men are concerned, the matrilineage is classified into

[1] Further evidence that the ancestor spirits are involved in the curse may be that madness is called *masoka*—spirits—and that it may be said of a madman that the spirits are beating him (*gakumputa masoka*). A curse may be revoked by blowing water out of the mouth, an act which is also vaguely connected with the ancestor spirits.

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604 627 sister's son. This, however, is not common because matters such as these, the Yao feel, ought to be settled within the matrilineage, or at least among kinsmen. The more usual procedure is for the mother's brother to take his complaint to some senior matrilineal relative who may be a perpetual mother's brother of the mother's brother, as say Cibwana Kawinga is to Cikoja.[1] Or if the matrilineage is part of a village, the mother's brother may take his case to his village headman, who is as likely as not his perpetual father. The senior relatives have the force of authority and public opinion behind them and frequently some agreement can be reached at this level. Where this is not possible, say because the perpetual elder relative lives too far away, the mother's brother may take the sister's son to court and bring the sanction of the Native Authority's punishment upon him. This is very rare.

604 789 There is still a certain mystical sanction behind the mother's brother's control over his junior relatives. This is based on the curse, which in turn draws on the belief in common ancestor spirits. A mother's brother may say to a sister's son or other junior matrilineal relative: 'If you have never sucked from the breast of my sister, nothing dreadful will happen to you.'[2]

604 754 The fear of sorcery is another force which operates to control the wayward activities of a sister's sons. People in senior generations are usually looked upon as having particularly wide knowledge of potent medicines. Though a sister's son may sometimes use sorcery against his mother's brother, the reverse is believed to be more likely to happen. I have recorded elsewhere[3] the details of a case where a sister's son left a village, against his mother's brother's wishes, to find work in town. He subsequently met his death in an accident while trying to get the honey out of a wild bees' hive in a treetop. At home his death was attributed to the sorcery of his mother's brother whose will he had frustrated.

604 578 On the other hand the sister's sons, while bound by an ethical code to honour and respect their mother's brothers, find that in fact these stand in the way of their own personal ambitions. A man's heir is his sister's son and it is quite understandable that there should be some tension between a man and his heir. But

[1] See p. 132. [2] See Chap. VI, p. 135.
[3] 'A Note on the African Conception of Causality', 54–5.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the plotting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden the next season simply marked the site in the bush by scoring some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and hoed this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village.

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission.

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc.

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The beer-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and beer placed in it to insure his continued guidance.

In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the sponsors of the wives went to the sponsors of the husbands and asked permission to move the village.[1] Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the sponsors invited to come and drink and "put foot in the new village."

Relationship. Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (*Fig.* 1) the relationship of the two children (C 5) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the *achikulu* and *wese* but are addressed as *amao* and *atati*. The maternal uncles older and younger than the mother (B 11 and 15) are called *akuolumo* and their wives (B 12 and 16) *akuguo*. The maternal aunts are addressed as *amao*, mother, anyone older than the mother being distinguished as *amao wakulungwe*, "the bigger" (B 13), a younger aunt as *amao wanandi*, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed *atati*, *atati wakulungwe* (B 14), and *atati wanandi* (B 18). On the father's side the uncles are called *atati wakulungwe* (B 1) and *atati wanandi* (B 5), respectively, for those older and younger than the father, and their wives *amao wakulungwe* (B 2) and *amao wanandi* (B 6). The paternal aunts are called *atati wakungwe* (female uncles) (B 3 and 7), their husbands (B 4 and 8) *atati*.

[1] Vide supra, p. 236.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

Witch-medicine. The making of medicine against people has been shown to occupy an essential place in *usoni*, and it plays an important part in all occultism. So by insensible grades, the ordinary use of drugs in common diseases is reached, though it is probable that very much greater faith is placed in a packet of burnt roots put under the floor of the house than in the efficacy of any concoction taken by mouth.

There is a general belief that by medicine extra ability verging into supernatural power can be acquired. This power in a general sense is represented by the word *ukoma* and a man so possessed is spoken of as *mundu jwa komala*. The desire for increased power may be a perfectly natural one, such as a desire for influence and popularity as a *chief*, or on the other hand, the power of *usoni* may be aimed at, or again, the knowledge of magic medicine for thieving or for any other practice. *Ukoma* is, therefore, a relative matter. The necessary medicine or initiation into the understanding of magic can be purchased from persons already practitioners, the honest herbalist merging by imperceptible degrees into the most criminal witch-doctor. A single practitioner may prescribe a charcoal dressing for an ulcer, exorcise an evil spirit by a vapor bath, sell medicine to enable the buyer to win a case at court, arrange medicine on a pathway to act as a selective love potion, or prescribe a drug to change a man into a lion.

Deserving of special mention are the people who thieve by the aid of medicine which they have either purchased or prepared themselves. Such a man is called *chitaka* and the medicine *mitela wa chitaka*. The active principle of this medicine is said to be prepared from the tail of a hyaena, an animal which is said to be able to enter a house where people are sleeping and kill and carry off the fowls without waking the occupants. The medicine is often carried in a hyaena's tail. The *chitaka* is supposed to approach the house he would rob and chewing some medicine in the mouth, gently blow towards it to put everyone to sleep. The door is supposed to unfasten itself and the thief is free to take what he wishes. He is even said to kill, cook, and eat food in the house while the inmates remain unconscious. A special characteristic of the *chitaka* is that whatever he lays his hands on in the house he must remove, though he does not want it, so that in the morning many unwieldy, useless objects may be found outside the hut.

There are many other magic medicines. One of these, *lwanga*, if introduced into a village, will cause the illness and death of some inmate. Anyone handling the body of the sick man or the corpse after death, sickens and dies until the whole village is wiped out. There is a man serving a life sentence now at the Central Prison, Zomba, who was convicted of having caused the death of many people in a village in Angoniland. He is said cheerfully to have admitted the power of his medicine.

Medicine made from a cousin is supposed to be efficacious in various ways. The blood of a cousin is instilled into the ear for otorrhoea. Drinking the water which has been used by a cousin to wash his face relieves intestinal colic. Medicine is made from the hairs of the beard of a cousin or from an adult and used for chest trouble.

832 *Mpasi* is a love potion. Men are often anxious that women should ask them for love (*ku-pala*). A man seeing a woman whom he fancies, takes up some of the dust where she has trodden and mixing this with medicine puts it in his hair. If he meet her again, though he takes no notice of her, she will come to him.

● 789 When crops are harvested, a layer of the cereal is laid at the bottom of the corn-store,
241 and *umba*, which consists of medicines contained in the skull of or made from the body of
[826] a still-born infant, is then put in and the store filled. In this way, he who has only a small garden may be sure that his grain will last a long time. Similar medicine is put in gardens with the first rains to insure heavy crops. A man on the approach of the planting season should never give away seed to anyone until his own seed is put in or it may bring bad luck to his crop. This is evidently a superstition arising from the fact that if he gives seed away, he may not have enough left to raise a crop sufficient to support his family. Some people are considered "lucky at planting pumpkins, other people when they plant, reap only watery pumpkins." A man, therefore, will often ask one of the lucky people to plant his pumpkins for him. My hospital boy always got the cook to plant his pumpkins.

789 A man wishing to become a person of importance, with a village of his own, takes a
824 medicine made from a certain tree and then builds his hut in a new place, hoping people will flock to him. The tree is known as *chilumbili*. Another medicine, taken in the belief that people will flock to a man in consequence, is made from the bush called *mtola*. Cf. *litula* planted at the threshold to attract visitors.

789 Conjuring. There are other performances akin to magic in the eyes of the natives,
791 which I have never had the opportunity of witnessing but which would appear to be of the nature of juggling or possibly hypnotism; some resemble the tricks of jugglers; others are more like some of the performances in India. I naturally supposed that they had been learned from men at the coast (Zanzibar), but I am assured that they belong to the Yao themselves.

Kambenje, a Yao of Chiradzulu, well-known at dances and *Unyago*, after some preliminary dancing, stands still and is covered by a cloth; when the cloth is again removed, he is discovered with a number of squealing puppies held in his loin cloth, which he then hands round. He begins to dance again and the persons to whom the puppies have been given watch him and then find they are holding excrement, not puppies. Or mud-fish are handed round and the people find they are holding women's diapers.

Another trick often performed by Kambenje was the burial of a man in the ground, covered up completely with earth; at the sounding of the drums the buried man comes running in from the back of the watching crowd.

Kasonga, a Yao of Malemya's, priest, and medicine man, after an *Unyago* ceremony used to put on his red blanket and walk over the hot embers of an enormous fire in the village open space. He admitted that he smeared himself with medicine and an eyewitness told me that when he put his feet on the hot logs, it caused a sizzling sound.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

Tingulingu was another well-known performer; he used to do the same tricks as Kambenje. He also was possessed of an elastic skin and is said to have been able "to tie his ears together behind the back of his head." 789 791

Mpechetula, a Yao of Mkanda, is a man with considerable renown. He is said to be able to produce a lion at will from a lion's tail and claw. He would offer to show this if there were any brave enough to go through with it. On a moonlight night, he would expose on the ground in a cleared space near a village the tail of a lion held cross-wise in a piece of split bamboo. At the split end of the bamboo, he would place a lion's claw and round this, a woman's belt held in position by three bamboo pegs, around which he would draw a circle of *nihepusi* flour. Everyone would then withdraw to a hut in which the seance was to take place. After an hour or so, Mpechetula would send some one out to inspect the lion's tail where probably all would be found intact. He might then pretend to be uninterested and sleepy and suggest that some one should go out again in half an hour. Sooner or later, a man would come back, having found the tail gone; then everyone would go out to see what had happened. The pegs would be found in place but the tail and claw gone. A little way off, the split piece of bamboo would be found and further still a bead or two from the woman's belt. These, Mpechetula would pick up, and leaving a little trail of flour on their way, all returned to the hut, while he whistled as if calling some one. Suddenly they would be aroused by the sound as of a lion brushing against the hut walls, as the beasts are known to do, and next, a loud roar. Mpechetula would immediately open the door half-way so that the people could look out into the moonlight and there, a little way off, would be the lion. It would immediately advance towards the house and then, as it prepared to spring for the door, Mpechetula would offer it some of the flour in his left hand, armed with a stirring-stick, *mtiko*, in his right hand. As the lion landed, he would strike it on the head with the stick and lo and behold! the lion would vanish and the tail and claw would be found in his hand.

Superstitions. Scattered throughout these notes, particularly under *Usoni* and *Diseases*, mention is made of practices which show a strong belief in superstition. Below are given a number of minor beliefs, and it is interesting to compare them with many well-known superstitions in other parts of the world. 771 784

1. A child who cuts the upper incisor teeth first will be unlucky. Such children used to be killed by the Yao. (Other tribes make medicine against the threatened ill-luck.) [777]

2. A woman with polydactylism may not take food out of a corn-store. Otherwise the stock of corn will not last long. (Rudimentary sixth fingers are not uncommon.) [732]

3. An insect called *chiqeme nasi* which lives in the mud at the bottom of pools, if killed causes the water to dry up. [823]

4. If a boy puts a water-spider in the armpit when learning to swim, he will learn quickly.

5. A man wishing to prevent rain falling on a day he is making a journey, will wrap some of the leaves of the *mtowoni* tree in his loin cloth and go without drinking. [824]

3:Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

As an example of another kind of intermediary may be mentioned a woman called Binili Chikanowa, who, though an Anyanja, was well known among the Yao of Zomba. She was consulted on many occasions about the future, about rain, or the prevention of disease. She was a woman of quiet ways and greatly respected; she had no fixed abode but was received everywhere and given food and shelter. She would sometimes disappear from the district and travel to far distant places. A son, born to her when a young woman, was lately a patient under my care, a man of about forty-eight. On one occasion she was consulted about an epidemic of ulcers among the people near Zomba. She asked all the people from the village to go down to Lake Shirwa and to take a white fowl with them. When they had all collected, she appeared, carrying in each hand a little gourd containing ede-pasé flour, and a small open basket on her head. She took the fowl in one hand and then proceeded to walk into the water, saying she would have to go to a little hill on an island in the lake called *Chidia Mpiri* and that she would come back in three days. She then walked on into the water and disappeared below its surface. In three days time, she returned to the village and said that the women must give up dancing the *chipanda* dance for twelve months and all would be well.

On other occasions she usually worked along similar lines. Consulted as to whether or not some sick person would recover, she always answered with the same formula, if she thought he would die, "The house is prepared for him and medicine would avail nothing!"

There are certain other supernatural persons or spirits to which reference must be made. *Chimoto-moto* has been mentioned above. *Matuwa*, a word which Hetherwick translates as "madness, idiocy,"[1] really refers to the delusions and hallucinations which form part of the perceptions of the insane. The word also has the meaning of obsession, phobia, and intuition; thus the natives say of an ox about to be slaughtered that shows signs of realizing the approaching evil, "it has *matuwa*." On the other hand, they say the hartebeest is a foolish animal that does not know what to do when hunted: "it has *matuwa*, it is a deluded animal." Again, the baboon and the crow "have *matuwa*"; they are possessed of senses or faculties which warn them of the approach of any enemies before they can be seen or heard; they cannot be stalked. In all these cases, the crowd of hallucinatory men pursuing were melancholic, the rats of the delirium tremens patient, and that which appears to warn the crow or the baboon, are all *matuwa* and are, I think, supposed by the natives to have some kind of materialistic form.

Ndandulu: when the *matuwa*[2] do not wish immediately to devour the body of a deceased person which they have raised from the grave, they cut off the arms and legs at the elbows and knees and insert medicine into the stumps; these living-dead are then compelled by the *matuwa* to live in caves and hollow ant hills during the day and to follow them at night in their travels, "like a herd of goats," to be eaten as required. The *ndandulu* may be heard as they wander along in the night, making sounds like a cat's mew. A woman will

[1] Yao language, op. cit., p. 288. [2] Vide supra, p. 288.

3: Swanson D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

never leave any food outside at night, not even the shell from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

Chinese is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the fiends are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and cause rot among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the fiends and prevent them coming into the gardens. *As far as I am aware, the fiends have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with Mlungu*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.[1] The *chinese* is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*Mwambonde kunyi?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hullo, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are iron workers. They are called the *Mwambonde kunyi*.

There is no relation so far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently reiterated by Hastings Goldford in his Hunterian Lecture (1916) that folk-lore fables of kobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

The Anyanja have the same legend about these "little people," the *mwandi mwaluzi* ("where-did-you-see-me"); it is indeed not only widespread throughout this country, (the Alonga and Ankonde in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwandimwandu* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the Akikuyu in British East Africa.[2]

The *chinese* is doubtless the *chiwezi* of the Anyanja, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,[3] as Miss Werner[4] has supposed, for one finds that among the Anyanja at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chinese* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chiwezi* who has one half of his body made of wax.

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 71. [2] H. W. H. Routh, 'Pre-Native occupants of East Africa,' (Man, London, 1914, p. 49-51).
[3] Op. cit., p. 81. [4] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 58.

3:Stanton D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

857 524 same time so that the bean is contained in one hand; the other player has to guess in which the bean lies and this he does by striking with the finger the hand in which he imagines the bean to be. If the striker guesses correctly, he moves his man and his slave to the first sleeping-place. It is then his turn to hide the bean. So it goes on till one or the other arrives at the slave-market. There he barters his slave for trade-goods and returns in the same way: whoever gets home first wins, and the loser is said "to have died on the road," a not uncommon event in the old days. It is interesting to note that cheating is sometimes attempted by palming beans between the fingers, so that in the hand guessed, the bean is palmed between the fingers, and, in the other hand, a bean is released from between the fingers into the palm.

[788]

524 *Njanga* (native, Chin.): a kind of nimpim, which takes its name from the object which is thrown to knock down the nimpim. The game is played by youths and men, equal numbers sitting in two parallel rows fronting each other on the ground, the two rows composed of a dozen or more persons, a few yards apart. Each person has set up in front of him on the ground a maize cob from which the grain has been stripped, or each may have a number of them, perhaps six. In the former case, the cobs are perhaps two feet apart, in the latter only a few inches. Each player is provided with several *njanga*, from six to twenty-four in number. The *njanga* is a piece from the side of a gourd, slightly concavo-convex and circular in plan, with the edge often cut into serrations. A piece of reed is fixed through a hole in the centre, projecting an inch or so inch and a half from the convex surface, thus forming a kind of tentorium, two or three inches in diameter (Pl. XXII, fig. 9). It is held between the thumb and second finger by the foot-piece; by a sharp movement of the fingers, it can be spun out of the hand and, at the same time, jerked forward by another sharp movement at the wrist. At a given signal, the players on both sides start launching forth their little tops which spin away towards the maize cobs of the opposing side, the object being to knock them down. When there are many on a side, each with a number of cobs, many fall with the first onslaught, but as fewer and fewer remain, it becomes more difficult, and players try to show their skill by aiming at the cobs farthest away from them, along the opposite line. The game goes on till only one cob is left standing; then, if a player of the opposite side knocks it down, he puts one of his own up again, and the side which had the one remaining puts one up, and so the game may go on. When they are tired of playing, they say, "*Kwitula tuvunge*," " We must finish the game," literally " Come on, we must smell." [1] A knife is then stuck in the ground on either side, the blade pointing to the opposite side, and each man, when he has hit the knife of the opposing side with his *njanga*, is considered to have shown his skill, and goes off. The last man remaining is laughed at as being a fool at the game. If a headman is playing, he makes sure of having his try first, so that he will not be left in to the last. The game has a great fascination for the natives and it is said of Mulenya, the uncle of the present chief (1913), that he was

[1] Vide supra, p. 357.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marav; FR4
Ngoni FR5
Bemba FR5

M 301 Necklaces, most commonly for children, are made of a number of little square pieces of hippo ivory strung together, ornamented with geometrical designs.

M 789 Medicine is often carried in a little pocket suspended round the neck, as also charms of various kinds. The medicine may be some powdered charred roots or little twigs, leaves, etc., of some tree; these are sometimes now wrapped up in a piece of paper on which is written some extract from the Koran (among Mohammedan Yao); this is then sewn in a little piece of calico and adorned with beads and suspended round the neck with a string.

Y [789] Charms take various forms. Small pieces of wood or, to guard against attack by lion, teeth are worn. Armlets of the same kind are worn against sickness, and others are worn by Angoni, made of beads to which knives are attached. Bracelets of ivory, plaited grass and elephant tail hairs are also worn.

M 301

N 301 Metal and wirework bracelets are commonly worn by Angoni, also twisted wire finger rings and rings of lead and ivory. Heavy brass ankle rings and spiral brass leg and arm rings 6 inches and 8 inches wide are worn by some of the women (Atonga).

B 301 Bracelets cut from the nail of the elephant's foot are worn by Awemba hunters, and little finger rings cut from the scale of the ant-eater are worn as medicine against fever by headmen.

Belts made of wound copper wire are worn round the waists by Wankonde.

M 302 The use of pigments applied to the body is very limited. I have seen stripes of these, white and red, on the faces of young women, boys and dancers, generally after some ceremony. The significance I do not know.

M [439] Pigments are now obtained from Indian traders, and I do not know how old the custom is. There is no beautification of face, body, nails, and eyes by pigments. The only application made to the skin is castor and ground-nut oils to keep it soft—no scents are used.

Clothing.

M Y N 291 [855] Among tribes of Nyasaland the amount of clothing worn varies very considerably from nothing to European garments.

Of the large majority, however, including Mataaja people, Yao and Angoni, one may speak generally.

The young children commonly run about naked, or have a strip of cloth covering the pudenda, supported by a string round the waist.

M Y N [556] Among the adult population the amount of clothing depends largely on the affluence of the individual, and those who cannot afford much have little clothing. A man wears a strip of calico supported in front and behind by a string round the waist, a woman a piece of calico 18 inches wide reaching from the middle of the thighs to the umbilicus.

Of the more prosperous, the men wear calico from a little below the knee to the waist, carefully wrapped round the body, and kept in position by some kind of belt; sometimes it is folded across the upper part of the chest or sometimes crossed over in front and two ends tied behind the neck.